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S P E E C H

DELIVERED AT LYNN, MASS.,

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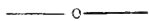
BY GEORGE B. LORING, OF SALEM,

Democratic Candidate for Congress from the Sixth
District.

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1858.

S P E E C H .



Fellow democrats, Fellow citizens :

I congratulate you on the auspices under which, as citizens and democrats, we meet here to take council together upon those high political questions, which occupy us, as an American people. The cloud which has hung over our community, and which twelve months ago gave a severer chill to the approach of winter, and brought pinching penury into your very households, is now passing away. The industry of the artizan, the mechanic, the laborer, has its promise of a sure reward. And as we look beyond our own community, into the great national field of politics, we can rejoice, as patriots, as Americans, over the ever brightening refulgence which gathers around the policy of our country, and gives through each succeeding event in our history, new lustre to the career of the national democracy. We are at peace at home and abroad, and amidst the conflicts of parties, and the strifes of ambition, amidst the "cunning devices" of factions and the temporary triumphs of intrigue, the principles of the constitution as laid down and interpreted by democratic statesmen, shine forth far above the storm, a beacon light to the nation, and the accepted guide of the American people. Demagogues may misuse them, on the one hand, and legal sophists may deny them on the other, but they are the national faith and lie at the very heart of the people.

I stand here, fellow citizens, under peculiar circumstances—not voluntarily, not of my own choice, but by order of the convention which placed me in nomination as a candidate for one of the highest and most important offices in the gift of the people. I have been instructed to discuss before the people of this district, those principles of governmental policy which have made us a great nation, and I am here, on the very eve

of the election, after long and incessant labor in the towns and cities with which you are associated for congressional purposes, to present to the people of Lynn these things which I conceive belong to their political salvation. Since I received the nomination, and I have met with every variety of charge, and have been presented in every variety of form, until I have almost begun to doubt my own identity. A correspondent from this city proclaimed one morning through a daily journal in the city of Boston, that I was a "Buchanan democrat"—as if that were a term of opprobrium, against which any honest democrat would care to defend himself. But the very next day the same correspondent in the same paper, announced that I was a "Douglas democrat"—as if that too were an odious distinction. I leave all such classifications as these for the enjoyment of those who stick fast in a dilemma of their own creating. And as a last resort of the enemy, a miserable falsehood with regard to some surgical cruelty said to have been committed many years ago, at a safe distance for the perpetrator of the calumny, has been urged upon the community with an industry which has led me to feel that my political record must be a strong one, when such false and wretched assaults upon my private character are deemed necessary.

Now, fellow citizens, I am here to defend democratic principles, not as a partizan, not as the advocate of any man or any set of men in this country. I sustain the administration, and repel with scorn and indignation all attempts to identify it with any special section or interest, by senseless cries of pro-slavery, humker, slave-driving and southern dictation. For I remember that this present administration is the work of the national democracy, accomplished amidst just such a storm of just such cries as these, and placed in power with

the hearty approval of all men who love their country better than a sectional triumph, or than a constant agitation for political purposes. And I thank God at this hour, that the destinies of our nation are in the hands of men whose policy is utterly and eternally opposed to the dangerous designs of the republican party, and whose path to power is strewn with the dead and wounded of a routed sectional faction. And as an uncompromising national democrat I am filled with wonder and admiration at the gallant struggle against the enemies of our country, in which senator Douglas is engaged in his own state. When I see him fighting almost single-handed against the enemies of the people, against the sectional agitators of Illinois, against the natural opponents of democracy, against all the modern inventions of a subtle and unprincipled organization, I unite with the spontaneous sentiment of the democracy everywhere in looking for his success with breathless anxiety. My heart goes with every democrat when the republican hounds are on his track.

I come here then not as a partizan or a factionist, but as a citizen of Massachusetts, as a national democrat, to appeal to the national sentiment of this district, to that sentiment which I know pervades our community, and which only needs light to lead it into a bold and honest expression. I do not propose to upon the people to regulate their own affairs or discuss state matters—for I find in the dominant party here in Massachusetts composed of conflicting factions, ample and convincing record of the true character of the rulers here. I can go to the friends of Gov. Gardner for a judgment upon the removal of Judge Loring, and I can go to Gov. Banks's friends for a judgment upon the enormous debt of our state. It is not necessary that democrats should expose the political corruption of those in power in Massachusetts—out of their own mouths they are condemned.

But as a candidate for a national office, I am called upon to discuss national questions—not banks, nor tariffs, nor our foreign relations, nor our internal improvements, but that one all pervading, all absorbing question, civil war. I mean of course the question of slavery—that question which under the silent operation of our government, under the But nowhere, in no civil government devised fair and equitable adjustments of the constitution, was left in the hands of the people of

every locality to settle for themselves, and which would have been peaceably settled, in the new states, as it was in the old ones, but for the operations of political traders anxious for capital in the transaction of their business. It is this question which involves all that is at issue between the contending parties of the present day. It is this question upon which the fate of our republic seems to hang. It is the settlement of this question which contains the whole principle of government under which we live, and which is destined to test the strength of that fabric which our fathers reared on this continent with so much pride and hope. For, let me tell you, the domestic institutions of the several states in this confederacy, are to be left sacredly where the constitution leaves them, and the citizens of the various states are to enjoy the privileges of citizenship over all the common domain of this republic, or we shall come to all the horrors of a revolution, with a new system of government, a new constitution. For myself I revere and admire and believe in the constitution as it exists. I believe in it as a bond of union, which offers throughout a powerful confederacy, "equal and exact justice to all men." I believe in it as containing within itself a remedy for all existing evils, in our republic, through the power which it confers in their own way"—a peaceful power of progress and reform, before which all the woes of civil discord pass away, and all the glories of revolutions sink into insignificance. If we are prosperous therefore, and are advancing on a high career, let us adhere to the constitution. If we have evils among us, let us look to the constitution for relief, and learn from that whatever the question may be upon this matter of slavery in the states and territories, the great principle of popular sovereignty, found in the constitution, furnishes a safe and equitable adjustment.

For the first time in the history of the world, the government which has been established on this continent confers sovereignty upon the people, and upon the various civil organizations into which they are divided. Republics have risen and fallen, and have gone down in night. Monarchies have shot across the sky like meteors, and have vanished into gloom. But nowhere, in no civil government devised by man has the right of the people as the source of all power been recognised, and the

reserved prerogative of each component organization been carefully preserved in the formation of a central governing body, until our fathers distributed all power from the centre to the circumference. It was the pervading thought of Jefferson's mind, through his active career, and on into the decline of his life. He labored incessantly, even after he had retired from public service, to secure the division of the counties of Virginia into wards or towns, believing that this minute subdivision of power is indispensable to the working of a true republic. This was the spirit which prevailed in the colonies, which was never lost sight of in the revolution, and which became embodied in the Constitution. We sit here to-night under the workings of this benignant system. In her own municipal organization, this city of Lynn has no dictator, no power beyond her limits to decide what is best for her internal interests. You build your own streets, you erect your own school houses, you pass all laws for your own municipal regulation, under powers reserved for you by the constitution of this Commonwealth. Not for a moment would you tolerate outside interference. No neighboring town can have a voice in your affairs. As citizens of Essex County, you enjoy the same privileges. You have your rights as a County, organized as you are for the preservation of peace and good order and for the administration of local justice. You have reserved this power from the State.—Would you endure for a moment any assumption of the power by citizens of a neighboring county, or would you resign it into the hands of that central organization, from which you have kept it sacred? As a commonwealth, moreover, as a State under this confederation, Massachusetts holds her position, supreme and sovereign, so far as her domestic institutions are concerned, and no legislation beyond her limits can possibly interfere with her high estate. Her people would not resign this right. Be the foe foreign or native, be the interference an act of Congress, or the incursion of a neighboring state, the same spirit of freedom which inspired our fathers gathering from their furrows to fight the battles of their country, would nerve our arms to a new contest for popular rights. For it is these rights reserved to us, which make the people of this confederation greater than Presidents, or Cabinets or Senates, placing the highest power in our country in the hands of those whose

fiat makes Presidents, and whose word brings Senates back from doing its service.

To these rights of the states, and to these powers of citizenship, fellow democrats, I know no limit. There is no boundary line within our republic beyond which these powers cannot extend. We claim them for ourselves, and we are compelled to grant them to others. They belong to Ohio, and Kentucky, to South Carolina and California in the same measure that they do to Massachusetts. They are not shut out from the territories. The public domain out of which new states are to be carved, belongs to the people of this republic, and as they enter upon it they carry with them the rights of citizenship which the Constitution guarantees, enabling them to enjoy those privileges there, which they have enjoyed in their original homes. If this assembly of the citizens of Lynn should leave this commonwealth tomorrow and enter upon the territorial possessions of the United States, to cultivate the lands and establish their own institutions, the flag of their country would go with them, the Constitution would extend its broadegis over them, they would carry with them a name and a power greater than ever Roman enjoyed—the name and power of an American citizen. In this enjoyment the Constitution knows no distinction, “no North, no South, no East, no West.” but to all men of every section it secures their domestic institutions, their property, and bestows on Congress simply the power to see that the guarantees of the Constitution are all fulfilled.

This, fellow citizens, is what we call the sovereignty of the people. It is no “modern heresy.” It was proclaimed early in our history. It has been sanctioned by the democratic party in its conventions. It has never been resigned, except when an emergency seemed to require it, and even then against the earnest solicitations of our profoundest statesmen. You will find it in the declarations of our leaders, made from time to time as each crisis in our country has arisen. It lay at the foundation of the Kansas-Nebraska act, that great step in the cause of constitutional freedom on this continent, which has already made the name of our New England President illustrious in our annals. It is the basis of the platform of the party laid down at Cincinnati in 1856, and was the great rallying cry of the democratic party during that memorable cam-

paign. It was adopted by James Buchanan the "national democracy," gentlemen, from which these republicans have drawn their inspiration. And of which these republicans have drawn their inspiration, which they bestowed upon him, as a reward for a long life of faithful service, as a demonstration of this confederation, not from a party or a party state-man, and he declared that:— which runs a dividing line through our Union.

The recent legislation of Congress respecting the very first act of its existence, in domestic slavery, derived as it has been, not from a party which claims to its own from the original and pure fountain of legislation of the country all the privileges of legitimate political power, the will of the majority which the Constitution secures, not to a party, promises ere long to allay the danger which makes open war upon one half of our excitement. This legislation is founded upon principles as ancient as free government—that great fraternity whose fellowship exalts itself, and, in accordance with them tends to the farthest bounds of our republic, has simply declared that the people of a territory and in whose ranks the brother from the South, like those of a state shall decide for Carolina joins hands with the brother from themselves, "WE NEVER SLAVERY SHALL OR MASSACHUSETTS, WITH THAT WARMTH OF GRASP SHALL NOT EXIST WITHIN THEIR LIMITS,"—which democrat should give democrat here. This interpretation of the rights of the people in our own streets. I accept the compromise has been sanctioned by the opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States,—proclaim here, as I have proclaimed elsewhere. And lastly, gentlemen, it has been accepted where that the "national democracy" has by the republican party of Massachusetts always been true to this doctrine of this respect, the only ground upon which their changing resolution, that it has never ceased to advocate leaders can now stand before the people.—it, and that in all our past history it has done you doubt this? Let me read to you a resolution adopted by this party in their own convention in this state last year. When state ten years ago, who have violated the the Bankses and Wilsons and Burlingames—great constitutional principle which they marshalled the "friends of freedom" to a new take to hide their own political deformities, now come to see here, they looked through the city.

record of their own party to find materials for a platform, and among their Wilnot propositions, and Missouri Compromises they found one, which is now distracting our country, nothing that could stand the test of an hour. We have tried every expedient in vain. We before the people. Interference by Congress in the states and territories seemed but poor doctrine for these modern times. It was a democratic resolution which offered the only safe foothold for them. And with unparalleled frontery, with their record behind them, they unflinchingly resolved.

That in the language of the Massachusetts democratic convention of 1848, this Convention is opposed to the exercise of any jurisdiction by Congress over the matter of slavery in the territories; but is in favor of leaving to the people who inhabit them the right to establish and regulate their own domestic institutions and relations, under the general principles of the Constitution; and this is a claim for them which cannot be disallowed by the national democracy, deviated as the Supreme Court in its decisions, because it is to the liberty, equality, and fraternity ten years ago it laid down a platform which of this great brotherhood of states." its enemies now adopt, it is charged with

I look upon this as a high tribute to the unwavering devotion to the South and her institutions. Now, gentlemen, the democrat-

ie party knows no distinctions among the fifty years in extending slavery. This may states of this confederation, and it has never be so—but considering the fact that the known any. You are told that it has chang-democratic party has been in power more ed its policy, and is not the democracy of than three quarters of the time, it has met Jackson and Silas Wright. You are told with but poor success in its peculiar calling. that it has deserted the ancient faith. But I find that on the adoption of that constitu- if you will look over the record of its lead-tion, there were but thirteen states, all in- ing statesmen for the last forty years, if you terested more or less in the institution of will read its platforms, if you will examine slavery, and all reserving to themselves the its acts, you will find that the doctrines of right to regulate this matter according to that resolution which I have just read has their own interests and necessities. And at becu the guide to all its operations, and the a time when the constitution left this mat- light of all its counsels. The democratic ter with the states in their sovereign capac- party changed! Why, had you lived in the ity, the slave states had a strong body of days of Jefferson you would have heard this representatives in Congress. In 1811 the same pro-slavery charge brought against it. difference in favor of the free states was on- In 1812, the opposition had no other weaponly fifteen. But under the auspices of that to use against us. In 1820, the cry was party which has enlarged our borders and still against the pro-slavery democracy. It multiplied our states the majority of free- was continued throughout the administration state representatives has reached fifty-three. of Jackson and Van Buren. It 1844 it Is this the work of the opposition? Can burst out with renewed fury. In 1848, it the party which in all its Protean shapes was repeated. In 1852, you heard it from has risen up against the democracy, and has one end of the land to the other. In 1856 opposed the acquisition of new territory, and the whole rally of the opposition was upon the introduction of new states, which would this charge. You hear it at this day. How have confined our republic between the At- then has the democratic party changed? If lantic coast and the Mississippi, which re- in the opinion of its opponents it was pro- sisted the purchase of Louisiana, and con- slavery half a century ago, and is pro-slav- sidered the annexation of Texas “of no bind- ery now, how can it have changed? I taking force whatever,” can this party claim their own groundwork of assault as a proof the distinguished honor of thus enlargi g the of the unwavering and persistent and con- power of the free states in Co gress? Why sistent course of the “national democracy.” it is one of the proudest boasts of the “na- According to the testimony of our opponents, tional democracy” that under their interpre- our crime has been the same throughout the tation of the constitution, the fou dation of whole life of our party. And you may learn our republic is so broad that state upon from the testimony of our friends that our state can be added to the column u til it virtues as a party have been the same. No reaches the arch of heaven. It has bee i fellow-democrats, our party has not changed. a d is their work to multiply states here in It is the same party of constitutional freedom this confederation, regardless of the institu- to-day that it was when the constitution tions of the people, and requiring only that was adopted. It accepted in 1791 the great their government should be republican in truth of Jefferson with regard to the rights its form.

of the states and it has never abandoned it. Have you forgotten that when the Mis- It is the party of freedom now as it was then. souri compromise was passed it was de- And if you will bear with me for a few mo- nounced as an act of the “pro-slavery” de- ments, I will present to you as I had occa- mocracy? Why, that measure was never sion to do repeatedly to the democratic par- even acceptable to the soundest democratic ty throughout the New England States, in statesmen. Jefferson looked upon it with our last national campaign the fidelity of the intense alarm, and foretold its inevitable democracy to the great interests of this re- repeal. It was adopted with the hope of public regardless of sectional divisions, and all ying this northern agitation. It involv- ed the dedication by the south of a large the entire inconsistency of its opponents. tract of country lying north of 36 degrees

I have told you that this “pro-slavery” charge is no new complaint of the opposition old 20 minutes north latitude, being a part of the territory ceded by France to the The democratic party has been engaged, United States, and by treaty consigned to according to the opposition for more than

slavery, to the free states. It was intended clergymen of New England appealed to as a peacemaker. And yet your own faith-Almighty God to prevent the passage of full representative from Massachusetts Mr. the act. It was the last great step of the Shaw of Lanesborough, the senator from "national democracy," we were told, in New Hampshire Mr. Parrot, Mr. Lanman the infamous work of extending slavery, of Connecticut were all insulted and burnt And yet it embodied the sentiments and in edify, by these very men who now talk almost the very words of the resolution I about "that sacred compact," and mob the have read to you. It is the embodiment men of the north who voted to repeal it of that very doctrine which the republican They hang and burn our offgies if we vote party now claim as their own. You have for the compromise, and they hang and burn been told by republicans in your own couns if we vote against it. Can you tell me ty that Kansas was coming out of her how we are to satisfy these modern samples troubles because the "guarantees of the of consistency, whose great charge is that Nebraska bill are all fulfilled." And you the democracy changes its policy? may learn from the Hon. Eli Thayer, the

When the Mexican war was fought and gentleman who enlarges his party by col- those deeds of valor were enacted, which onizing, the most vigorous opponent of the gave us a long line of heroes, warriors and democracy, that Kansas is a free state statesmen, and added new lustre to our because the Missouri Compromise was re- name as a warlike people, this "pro-slav- pealed, and the Kansas-Nebraska act was ery" charge was heard once more. Can passed. I believe with Mr Eli Thayer. any man point to the power it has given the At the time of the passage of the bill, I south? Is not the addition of the rich and foretold that in ten years you could not prosperous State of California, a free state, find a man who was ever opposed to the opening her markets for our manufactures, Nebraska act. Not five years have rolled pouring her golden treasures into our lap, away, and the opposition have already be- establishing free institutions on the shore of the Pacific and carrying our constitu- gun to claim it as their policy, and to as- tion there, a glorious reward for that strug- cribe to it the consummation of their wish- gle? And yet this was the work of "the es. The justice and constitutionality of the national democracy," sustaining the honor bill no man could deny. It had the very and laboring for the prosperity of our coun- light of freedom irradiating every line of its try, while this freedom-loving opposition of government which had made every old were praying that our soldiers in Mexico state free and sovereign, and will make might be welcomed "with bloody hands to every new one another star in our galaxy, hospitable graves." The freedom it bestowed upon the people

An ardent republican undertook to reply of Kansas, is precisely that freedom which to me in a neighboring town not many we enjoy in Massachusetts, and which we nights ago, and he claimed that no credit should claim were we to leave our "stern was due the democratic party for the addi- and rock-bound coast" for the broad and tion of a free state out of territory acquired verdant savannahs of the south. It left by the Mexican war—but that the Provi- the people free to "settle their own affairs dence of God used the party in this instance in their own way" under the constitution. for high and good purposes. This may be I had the honor of defending the bill be- so, my friends, but did it ever occur to you fore the democrats of this county in con- that the Providence of God never used the vention, in the first speech delivered in its republican party for any good purposes? behalf in New England. I have never

Again, fellow citizens, when the Kansas ceased to be proud of the reception you gave Nebraska act was passed, the measure of me, and of that flattering consideration these agitators seemed to be full. The which prompted you to circulate that whole land rung with their indignant pro- speech throughout your party. I defended tests. Every art that the ingenuity of man it because I thought it contained the funda- could devise to prevent and mis-represent mental doctrines of freedom. I defended the act, was adopted. The senate of the it because it declared "its intent and mean- United States was made the scene of the ing to be not to legislate slavery into the most dishonest partizan movement, ever territories nor out of them." I defended it known in the country. Three thousand because it extended "equal and exact jus-

tice" to all the people and all states in our confederation. And I here declare that on no other consideration would I have defended it. Had I supposed it was intended to carry slavery into Kansas, or to give any one state an undue advantage over another there, had I supposed that its object was to interfere with the rights of the people of that territory, or to give them over to the tender mercies of congress, my tongue should have cleaved to the roof of my mouth before I would have sustained it. I believed then, and I believe now, that the principles incorporated in the bill is dear to the hearts of the American people, and that it will lead any party on to victory. I do not wonder, fellow democrats, that our republican opponents are anxious to adopt it. Will they be honest and honorable, and acknowledge that the "national democracy" was not devoted to slavery when they passed the bill?

Have you discovered, fellow citizens, in these acts any foundation for the pro-slavery charge prepared against the democratic party? I find none. I find that by word and deed, they have indicated an even-handed and impartial regard for the whole union. In all the attempts that have been made to pervert their acts there has been this one all-pervading policy. In the conflict in Kansas, which was nothing more nor less than a fight between a wretched, miserable band of border-ruffians from Missouri, and an equally miserable wretched band led on by Gen. Lane from the New England states, you all know what constant efforts were made by your democratic President to preserve peace and good order there. You all know how promptly a democratic senate endeavored to repeal the obnoxious laws there. You all know the course pursued by a republican house of representatives in their bill fastening slavery upon Kansas. And if you have followed out the history of the republican party in these matters, you have seen with astonishment their action upon the Lecompton bill during the last session of congress. The "Lecompton swindle," as they called it, was the sum of all human horrors. They denounced it with new zeal. They denounced the convention which framed the Lecompton constitution. They denounced the territorial legislature which called that convention. They denounced the voters who sustained that legislature. They had their

alternative by which they were to live or die. The constitution which the free state men had adopted at Topeka, that work of a factious party in the territory, they declared to be the only constitution which by any act of theirs should be fastened upon Kansas. They refused to recognize any act of the territorial legislature directly or indirectly. But as time went on, Mr. Crittenden of Kentucky presented a bill upon the Lecompton question in the senate; it came down to the house and Mr. Montgomery of Pennsylvania moved an amendment to the bill,—the substance of both being that if the people of Kansas desired to come into the union under the Lecompton constitution they could do so—and proclaiming that:—

"The people of the territory of Kansas did, by convention of delegates assembled at Lecompton on the 4th day of September, 1857, for that purpose, form for themselves a constitution and state government, which said constitution is republican in form."

For this bill the republicans in the house voted. It was hard work for some of them, but they did it, and down went their Topeka constitutions, and all their charges against the unconstitutionality of the territorial legislature. Their glorious project of freedom was thrown to the winds. Once more they were compelled to recognize the propriety and legitimacy of democratic policy. Again they abandoned their old ground, and went before the country, a contemptible party of expedients, devoid of principle, devoid of honesty, devoid of that sense of rectitude which is always more triumphant than the thousand shifts of the artful and cunning.

When I contemplate the course of such a party, when I consider the intricacies of its career, when I bring to my mind the ever shifting expedients to which it is obliged to resort, in its vain endeavors after victory, and compare it with that great party whose path to victory is laid down in the constitution, and which pursues but one course in its policy, I am reminded of that old fable of the cat and the fox. A democratic cat and a republican fox sat beneath a tree one summer afternoon discoursing upon the chances and changes of life, and while the fox boasted of the thousand expedients by which he could escape from the hounds, and told of all his doublings and turnings, his Wilmot Provisos, his Dunn's bills, his

Crittenden-Montgomery bills, his protee—echo the voice of his party, as expressed in
 tive tariffs, and his Missouri compromises, this state. It is unnecessary for me to dis-
 the cat sat looking demurely on thinking—cuss Mr. Alley here. You know him better
 only of the superior prowess of her sly re—than I do. As he has spoken no word, and
 publican neighbor. At that moment the made no sign in this campaign, I am author-
 hounds have in sight, and as the cat rushed—ized to believe that he is contented with rep-
 up the broad overarching constitutional tree—resenting that party whose crooked and de-
 beneath which they sat, she looked down—vious ways I have endeavored to mark out
 from her place of safety to see her adroit to you. You know whether he possesses
 and wily companion torn into more pieces—these public and private characteristics
 than he had expedients, or than his party—which make him a fit representative of that
 had planks to their platform. I think the party. And I leave it to you to say whether
 moral is a good one. in smoking them out, I have not also smok-

For myself, for my party, for my country, ed out their candidate. If he enjoys the
 I claim but one ark of safety—the consti—awkward position in which he is placed by his
 tution with its guarantees. And when I friends, standing upon a democratic resolution
 took back over the history of the two par- to fight the democratic party, he is certainly
 ties into which our people are divided, and well qualified to enjoy the kind of success,
 find on one side, as I have shown you, a such a position may possibly bring. It is
 steady and consistent observance of the doctrine contained in the resolution I have read,
 a fearless fidelity to the common rights and the day, under these circumstances. I leave
 interests of our whole country—and on the him with his party, to avail himself of any
 other a temporizing, inconsistent and eva- new “expedient” which may arise.
 sive policy, I am proud to take my stand But, fellow democrats, I find myself not
 with Jefferson and Jackson, as a “national engaged in single combat in this campaign.
 democrat.” If they were pro-slavery, I am When I entered upon the work of defending
 content in my humble way, to accept the democratic principles I supposed I should be
 same title. I could not come before the hon- obliged to meet the open and avowed ene-
 est voters of this district, the candidate of mics of the party alone. I did not antici-
 that party which in its national convention pate a triangular contest. I knew that an
 in 1856, resolved:— honest democratic convention, after a fair

“That the constitution confers upon con- and honorable struggle, had selected myself
 gress sovereign power over the territories of as the candidate of the party in this district.
 the United States for their government, and I expected to receive that support which I
 that in the exercise of this power it is the was ready to give. Had the choice of that
 right and imperative duty of congress to pro- convention fallen elsewhere, you would have
 hibit in the territories these twin relics of found me a soldier fighting in the ranks as
 barbarism, polygamy and slavery;”—and inearnestly as the most ardent among you.
 its Massachusetts state convention in 1859, The platform upon which I took my stand
 declared that “this convention is opposed to when I was nominated, is that by which a
 the exercise of any jurisdiction by congress democratic administration is now conducting
 over the matter of slavery in the territories,” the affairs of the country. Your resolutions
 I could not do this and look honest men in so declare. And I look upon the efforts of a
 the face. I leave such work for candidates disappointed aspirant, going out of that con-
 who have their “thousand expedients,” and vention, and using a false charge of fraud
 who prefer to exercise them, rather than for an opportunity to gratify his personal
 to look the men of this District fin the malice, and an insult to the democratic party
 face. I leave it to the republican candidate and to a democratic administration.
 here, in your own city—a gentleman, who, It is such defection as this, that has
 after a long life of bitter sectional agitation, brought forward in our district, what is
 in which he has proclaimed uncompromising called an “independent candidate”—that
 war upon one section of our country, and kind of politician, which Burke calls “the
 has defied constitution and law in his abo- most dangerous and mischievous of all poli-
 lition zeal, now seems to be filled with articians.” A coalition of factions in our dis-
 sension—sense of the rights of our citizens in trict has selected a gentleman to represent
 the territories, if we may oppose him to their views, who has been a long time in

search of a party, and has at last found one among men who are ready to go far back into the archives of the old Essex Junto, for their platform of faith. Perhaps this is all well enough. It gives that venerable body an opportunity to speak once more, in the person of the Hon. Otis P. Lord. And I confess that I have been entertained and amused, with the exhibition of the rare and respectable relics of antiquity, which has been made by him, under the superintendence of a few dissatisfied democrats, whose names shall never be perpetuated by any word of mine, and whose character you all fully understand.

I have no doubt Mr. Lord thinks he is serving his country and his party, by taking his present position in this district.—But I tell you, fellow democrats, and all national men, he has presented a platform of principles to the voters here, far more dangerous and far more sectional than any that our more adroit and nimble opponents have dared to promulgate. I pass by his Americanism—for the compliments I have heard him pay the American party in times past, enables me to set a true value upon his professions on that matter. I will not discuss his theory of a high protective tariff—for I take it for granted that he who prides himself upon having been baptized into the faith, and rather despises a new convert, will never learn that the people of this country rejected the impoverishing and exclusive system of protection long ago, and crushed it out beyond the hope of redemption. But I desire to dwell for a few moments upon his theory of the power of Congress over the territories, in order that all national men who are asked to vote for him, may see where he is leading them, and in order to confirm my statement that he presents a system of government which no free people, no free confederation, no free state would tolerate for an hour. I propose to show that he is an agitator of the most dangerous sort.

In his speech at Salem, accepting the nomination as an "independent candidate," Mr. Lord defines our system of government, as an independent authority created by "the people of the United States," and clothed with delegated powers, not in the form of a confederacy of States but in the form of a sovereign government, intended to create a sovereign nation. Under the control of this supreme power, he places the territory of the United States, denying that the constitution goes there, except by act of congress, and that any people can go there except by authority from congress. He seems to consider those clauses of the constitution by which the government of the United States is clothed with power to declare war and make treaties, as conferring upon government the sole and absolute control of territory acquired in any manner—in fact the possession and ownership of lands not divided into organized states. Under this theory of government, it is natural that he should declare that "this government has power over the territories—THAT POWER WHICH ANY SOVEREIGN GOVERNMENT HAS OVER TERRITORY THAT IS ACQUIRED BY WAR OR TREATY;" and that "absolute, supreme, unlimited power" should be exercised by congress over the territories. It is natural that he should look with a jealous eye upon any construction of the constitution which would "give up the territories to anybody and everybody who happens to go there." And it is natural moreover that he should find himself, in his definition of the duties of a representative in congress, limited to the state from which he is sent—he might have added be it South Carolina or Massachusetts.

Now, fellow democrats, I have not been taught to understand our national government, or to read our constitution in any such way as this. In the convention which framed our constitution, a contest arose between the advocates on the one hand of just such a government as that laid down by Mr. Lord—a government intended as Hamilton expressed it, "to swallow up the state powers"—and on the other hand, the advocates of a federal compact, a league among the states, a confederation of co-equal powers, a union of sovereign states, a federal organization, expressed by that great synonym of republican freedom, the United States of America. Thank God, this latter policy prevailed. And we are living to-day, not under a government consolidated for the creation of national supreme power, not under a government of the people of this country, not under a government which has "supreme, absolute, unlimited power" over the territories as the property of government—but under a FEDERAL constitution, under a government composed of powers delegated by the states with a jealous regard for their own rights, under a government denominated by Washington "the federal government of these states," under a government which

simply holds the territory of the United by France, as a free and sovereign state in States in trust under safe keeping, for the our republic, is above the colonial possessions common occupation of the states. The con- of Great Britain on this continent, or the stitution, in its body recognizes no other relation which conquered Algeria holds to form of government than a federal form, in her imperial conqueror.

Both branches of Congress the existence of Mr. Lord thinks the Chief Justice of the states as distinct and independent communi- Supreme Court of the United States in sup- tries, and not as "districts of one great com- porting this view of the Constitution was nimity." And if our opponents will read guilty of heresy—that there is a fallacy in the history of their country aright, they will his argument. Perhaps there is. But I find that the first act apportioning the mem- am fully as ready to take my understanding bers of the House of Representatives, was of the Constitution from "that most able jur- vetted by Washington, because it assumedist and pure-minded man" Judge Taney, as its basis of apportionment the existence supported as he is by all sound democratic of one nation or community, and not the ex- authority, ly our statesmen, by our party istence of so many independent states. It action, as I am to be taught my duty in this was the states, which made the constitution, respect by an able and skillful Essex Coun- and it is the states which through their leg- ty Lawyer, supported by the abandoned and is- latures or through conventions called for exploded theories of unsuccessful statesmen, the purpose, can alone amend the constitu- and by the expedients of narrow minded pol- tion, by an agreement of three-fourths of iticians, who have never learned that they their number. We ought never to lose have any obligations to their country, be- light of this distinctive character of our yond the limits of Massachusetts.

government. It is the foundation of all our When moreover Mr. Lord appeals to Mr. power. It enables our republic to expand Calhoun as he does to sustain him in his in- by the multiplication of free and sovereign terpretation of the Constitution, and his un- communities, each one of which feels the full derstanding of the powers of congress in the value of its relation to the confederation, and territories, I too appeal to Mr. Calhoun, and of the powers it has delegated to the gener- in order that you may judge who is right al government, in this matter. Mr. Lord, who has not given

I conceive it to be a federal constitution a single line from Mr. Calhoun, or myself, of this description which extends over the I quote from a speech of this great statesman territories as the common property of the delivered in the United States Senate in United states. If it is true, as Mr. Lord is 19, upon this very question of the exten- sion of the Constitution over the territories. sion of the Constitution over the territories. states today is limited to the people of the He says:—

United States," I claim that the people of "The constitution interprets itself. It the United States are to be found, wherever pronounces itself to be the supreme law of our territorial possessions extend. A citi- the land. The territories of the United izen of Massachusetts who leaves his home States, are a part of the land. It is the su- here for the enjoyment of new social relations, preme law, not within the limits of the union and for the formation of a new civil organi- merely, but wherever our flag waves—wher- zation within the limits of territory belong- ever our authority goes, the constitution in- ing to the United States, carries the flag of part goes, not all its provisions certainly, the Union with him. The constitution at- but all its suitable provisions. Why, can tend him. He goes with the supreme law we have any authority beyond the consti- of the land, a free, American citizen, tion? I put this question solemnly to gen- found a free, American, republican state, tlemen; if the constitution does not go there, This is the peculiar genius of our govern- how are we to have any authority or juris- ments—what? Is not congress the diction whatever? Is not congress the to build up not tributary colonies, but sov- creature of the constitution? Does it not erign members of our glorious confederation, hold its existence upon the tenure of the It is this which distinguishes us as a peo- constitution? And would it not be annihila- tion, and elevates every settlement made by lated on the destruction of that instrument. American citizens on American soil, as far and the consequent dissolution of the confed- above territories required by Roman con- eracy? And shall we the creature of the que- ty, or colonized by England, or subdueda- nstitution, pretend that we have any au-

thority beyond the constitution?"

It is no argument against this view to say that it is inapplicable to countries already settled, and acquired by us by treaty or conquest. The constitution goes also, wherever our treaties carry it, and in a form and to an extent defined by treaty stipulations. As in the case of New Mexico, so in every other case. There our power becomes unlimited. The constitution carried there by treaty, established the rights of our citizens there. As Mr. Calhoun says, in his speech on the Oregon bill, in 1848:—

"As soon as the treaty between the two countries is ratified, the sovereignty and authority of Mexico, in the territory acquired by it become extinct, and that of the United States is substituted in its place, carrying with it the constitution, with its overriding control over all the laws and institutions of Mexico inconsistent with it."

The question now arises, what power has congress over the territories? Mr. Lord says it has "absolute, supreme, unlimited power," power to "exclude a class or a race even," power to "exclude the whole, if in the judgment of the country that was deemed good policy," power I suppose to exclude the people of one state and admit those of another, power to carry the Maine law into the territories, power to suspend the writ of habeas corpus, power to make laws respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting its free exercise, power to pass ex post facto laws, power to establish a system of education, power to extend municipal regulations over a territory, in violation of that right which our citizens have reserved of immediate control over those institutions upon which depend their social safety, prosperity, and happiness. In his zeal to defend the absolute powers of the United States government, Mr. Lord claims for it not only proprietorship of the soil, but also "political sovereignty"—proprietorship of the people. And herein, let me suggest, lies his fallacy. The constitution has conferred no such power on congress. It has given it none of that absolute control, which if it existed would remove from the people of the territories all jurisdiction, every prerogative which makes them free, and would place them in the hands of men thousands of miles away, ignorant and regardless of their dangers and necessities. Such a system would be abhorrent to every principle of our government. It is a power which has never been conferred upon congress directly or indirectly. I look in vain for any implied power of this sort, growing out of any possible method by which territory may be acquired, by cession from the states, or by war or treaty, with the authority which the war and treaty making clauses of the constitution might be construed to confer. I look in vain for any power which congress possesses superior to the constitution. And I have a right, therefore to believe that congress can never go into the territories, let them be acquired in what manner soever they may, except as the agent of the constitution, to see that its requirements be all fulfilled. A territorial existence is usually attended with certain wants which the general government alone can supply. It is a sort of pupillage, preparatory to assuming the responsibilities of a sovereign state. With but few inhabitants, the expenses of a government could not be borne. And when the general government supplies a territory with executive officers, with a judiciary, with post offices, land offices, and means of defense, it discharges a duty which interferes in no way with a free exercise by the citizens, of those rights and powers secured by the constitution, or with the possession of all property recognized as such in the several states. The power of congress is limited to this, and can in no way invade the sovereignty of the people. And even this power small as it is, cannot be extended beyond that time, when the people ready to assume the responsibilities of government, present themselves at the doors of congress, with a republican constitution, and demand admission into the union as a sovereign state. I see nothing in this definition of the power of congress, which enables it to extend slavery into the territories, or exclude it therefrom; but I do see that power granted by those who would make congress supreme in the territories, and would control its action, by a sectional struggle in which the victorious party gains possession of the common property of the confederation.—Should the day ever come, when congress shall endeavor to exercise that supreme power in the territories, which is claimed for it by the "independant candidate" for congress in this district, a most dangerous blow will be struck at our republic. As a northern man I would not submit to it. Nothing but a victory of one section of this confederation over another, could possibly clothe congress with such power, with power to bind and loose,

to include and exclude according to its sovereign struggling for the possession of that power
 foreign pleasure; and were I a victor in the which goes with the general government,
 conflict I should look with shame upon my lot. But the common tie which united this
 trophies—were I vanquished I would never powerful family of states, and has extended
 silently submit to the tyrannical exercise of our free institutions from sea to sea, start-
 power to which I should be subjected. I praying the nations of the earth with the vigor
 that the longest life in this hall may not ex- and grandeur of republican enterprise,
 tend over such a triumph: for whoever does can exist no longer. A representative
 live to see it, will behold the great temple of Massachusetts who forgets that he is
 our constitutional freedom tottering from living under a flag whose folds are irradi-
 culation to dome, on the verge of indis- ated with other stars than his own, is in-
 criminate ruin.

I am not surprised, fellow citizens, at the country. He labors for a civil convulsion,
 position in which Mr. Lord finds himself at He insults the memory of those illustrious
 the conclusion of his discourse upon the statesmen who made Massachusetts what
 powers of congress, and the character of our she is, by enrolling her name in a free con-
 constitution. He has no alternative but federa- cy, and by securing to her citizens
 sectionalism. When he declares that "who- their share of the glory and prosperity of
 ever shall represent Massachusetts in con- a great republic. He serves his state best
 gress, is not only recreant to his own con- who serves his country best; and who
 stituents, not only recreant to himself, but feels in his heart the full power of that cit-
 he is recreant to the great interests of this izenship which the constitution carries into
 republic, if he cast a vote or does an act that our remotest borders, into territories wait-
 shall not tend to the establishment in every ing to receive our institutions, into the rich
 territory of the free institutions and the free and luxuriant islands of the sea—a power
 labor of New England," he takes his stand which congress can neither give nor take
 with those men north and south who would away. He is the truest patriot who car-
 pervert the constitution to their own section- ries to the halls of congress, a comprehen-
 al purposes. Let him transport himself to sive statesmanship, and a devotion to his
 South Carolina, and the obligation which he whole country, which would raise to a high
 has imposed upon himself would send him and commanding equality all the states of
 to congress, if he should go there at all, our confederation, and would give an hon-
 ored to extend southern institutions over orable recognition to those mutual rights
 every foot of American soil. Are there not and interests which all have in our com-
 duties higher than this? Did Massachu- mon possessions. Not by advocating the
 setts join the confederation with a compla- supreme power of congress in the territo-
 cent sense of her own superiority, and forries, not by ignoring the genius of the con-
 her own aggrandizement, that she should stitution, not by inflaming our country with
 call upon her representatives in congress, sectional warfare, not by violating that
 to forget their obligations to her sister sentiment of free citizenship which lies at
 states, in their devotion to herself? If the heart of the people, can a young man
 this be so, if each state is to feel that she prepare the way for an honorable career,
 alone is entitled to the privileges which or an old one give new glory to the evening
 the constitution secures, we are not living of his days. For the constitution provides
 in that republic which our fathers founded, no home for such heresies, on this conti-
 when they proclaimed to the world, that nent.

"in order to form a more perfect union, es- I have been called upon, fellow demo-
 tablish justice, insure domestic tranquility, crats, to withdraw from this contest, and
 provide for the common defense, promote to give my support to Mr. Lord, as against
 the general welfare, and secure the bless- Mr. Alley. Why I was thus called upon
 ings of liberty to themselves, and their I could never exactly tell. For I have
 posterity," they did "reestablish this consti- assurances in this thronged and crowded
 tution for the United States of America," hall, that there is a party in this city,
 If this be so, we have no union. Fear and which will never accept such doctrines as
 interest may bind us together with tempo- Mr. Lord has avowed, and such as Mr.
 rary bonds, a rivalry of states, striving for Alley believes. I have learned in the
 a tendency in the national councils, and campaign in this district that there is a

body of men within its limits, who have a sovereignty of the people. And I shall stand quick and hearty sense of democratic truth, by them as a part of the "national democracy," sustaining the only policy which and who are not to be lured away from racy," sustaining the only policy which them by the sophistries or temptations of has made our country great, and can carry an "independant candidate." I have been it on to new and greater glory. I shall placed in nomination by men who believe never withdraw from a contest with every in the truth of democracy, in the wisdom form of sectionalism, under whatever of the supreme court of the United States, name it may appear, until called upon to do in the power of the constitution, in the so by that party which it is my pride and right of citizens in the territories, in the duty to defend and support. limited powers of congress, and in the sov-

